

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 BELGRA 03229 01 OF 03 191210Z
ACTION EUR-12

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O 190951Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 682

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 3229

STADIS//////////

FOR VICE PRESIDENT FROM CHARGE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (MONDALE, WALTER F.)
SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT'S EUROPEAN TRIP: TALKING POINTS FOR
YUGOSLAVIA

REF: STATE 109425 (NOTAL)

1. WHAT FOLLOWS IS LATEST INFORMATION ON HOW PRESIDENT
TITO AND OTHER YUGOSLAV LEADERS PLANNING APPROACH TALKS
WITH YOU AND SOME SPECIFIC POLICY SUGGESTIONS FOR YOUR
CONSIDERATION, PERHAPS DURING VIENNA-BELGRADE FLIGHT.

2. FSFA TOLD US MAY 18 THAT THEIR GAME PLAN HAS DORONJSKI
CONCENTRATING ON BILATERAL ISSUES FRIDAY (THEY MENTIONED
KRSKO, US EXPORT RESTRICTIONS, EMIGRE TERRORISM, MILITARY
COOPERATION) AND TITO DOING BIG WORLD PICTURE ON SATURDAY
(AFRICA, MIDDLE EAST, DETENTE, US-SOVIET, CSCE, NON-ALIGNED
RELATIONS WITH US). THIS MAKES SENSE TO US. AS WASHINGTON-
PREPARED BRIEFING PAPERS WHICH WE HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED
UNDOUBTEDLY COVER ALL THESE ISSUES IN DETAIL, WE JUST
WISH TO MAKE A FEW SPECIFIC COMMENTS AND PROPOSALS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BELGRA 03229 01 OF 03 191210Z

3. EMIGRES: MAJOR RUNNING SORE IN US/YUGOSLAV
RELATIONS HAS BEEN EMIGRE TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
UNITED STATES AND YUGOSLAV SUSPICIONS THAT OUR "TOLERANCE"
OF THEM IS ANOTHER PROOF OF OUR ULTIMATE INTENTION TO
SPLIT THIS COUNTRY A LA YALTA. YOU COULD MAKE MAJOR
CONTRIBUTION TO STIFLING THIS SUSPICION AND TO DISCOURAGING
TERRORISTS IN THE UNITED STATES IF DURING YOUR STATEMENT

TO THE PRESS FOLLOWING TITO LUNCHEON YOU INCLUDED SOMETHING ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: "THE UNITED STATES IS OPPOSED TO TERRORISM OF ANY STRIPE AND TO SEPARATISM IN ANY COUNTRY. SPECIFICALLY, I ASSURED PRESIDENT TITO THAT THE USG DEPLORES VIOLENCE WHICH IS INTENDED TO UNDERMINE THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND UNITY OF YUGOSLAVIA."

4. YUGOSLAV INDEPENDENCE FROM THE SOVIET UNION: OUR KEY LONG-TERM INTEREST HERE IS IN PRESERVING AT LEAST YUGOSLAVIA'S PRESENT DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE FROM THE SOVIET UNION. AGAIN, YOU COULD MAKE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION AND DISCOURAGE SOVIET PRESSURES ON YUGOSLAVIA BY INCLUDING THE FOLLOWING IN YOUR AFTER LUNCH STATEMENT: "THE UNITED STATES SEEKS NO MILITARY BASES, NO SPECIAL OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS, NOR ANY VOICE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF YUGOSLAVIA. WE HOPE OTHER NATIONS WOULD COMMIT THEMSELVES TO OBSERVE THE SAME SET OF PRINCIPLES". THESE WORDS GEARED TO BREZHNEV'S SPECIFIC DEMANDS OF TITO DURING THEIR MEETING HERE LAST NOVEMBER.

5. MIDDLE EAST AND PUERTO RICO: YUGOSLAVIA WILL CLAIM THEY ARE MODERATES AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED. WHILE THIS IS NOT ALWAYS TRUE, YOU COULD TAKE THEM UP ON THIS BY MAKING TWO SPECIFIC REQUESTS OF TITO DURING PRIVATE TALKS. FIRST, THAT HE USE HIS NOT INCONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE WITH THE PLO TO ENCOURAGE PLO THIS YEAR TO PUBLICLY EXPRESS WILLINGNESS TO RECOGNIZE THE EXISTENCE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BELGRA 03229 01 OF 03 191210Z

OF ISRAEL. SECOND, WITH NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING HERE IN BELGRADE NEXT SPRING IN PREPARATION FOR 1979 HAVANA NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT, YOU COULD REQUEST THAT YUGOSLAVS OPPOSE CUBAN DRIVE TO MAKE PUERTO RICO A CENTRAL ISSUE. SPECIFICALLY, THAT YUGOSLAVIA CHANGE ITS PREVIOUS POSITION AND HENCEFORTH ARGUE THAT PUERTO RICO IS NO MORE A SUBJECT FOR CONSIDERATION IN THESE BODIES THAN QUEBEC OR CROATIA. AND AS GENERAL THEME WE RECOMMEND YOU STATE THAT WHILE PRESIDENT CARTER HAS LAUNCHED A BROADER DIALOGUE WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, WE WILL BE WATCHING CLOSELY TO SEE WHICH OF THEM ARE AS THE NEW INDIAN GOVERNMENT PUTS IT "GENUINELY NON-ALIGNED".

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03229 02 OF 03 191244Z
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INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 683

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 BELGRADE 3229

STADIS//////////

FOR VICE PRESIDENT FROM CHARGE'

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS MOVED A LONG DISTANCE ON MANY OF THE ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THE NON-ALIGNED IN GENERAL AND YUGOSLAVIA IN PARTICULAR: CUBA, VIETNAM, SOUTHERN AFRICA AND PALESTINE. THE ISSUE NOW IS WHETHER THE NON-ALIGNED WILL RESPOND IN A SUPPORTIVE FASHION TO THIS MOVEMENT AND SEEK PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS RATHER THAN CONTINUING TO SPOUT ANTI-IMPERIALIST RHETORIC.

6. HUMAN RIGHTS: WHILE YUGOSLAV RECORD IS BETTER THAN THAT OF WARSAW PACT NATIONS, IT IS DISTINCTLY WORSE THAN THAT OF THE WEST. THEY ARE ALREADY NERVOUS ABOUT OUR APPROACH TO CSCE IN THIS AREA AND WILL BE TOUCHY ABOUT ANY MENTION BY YOU OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA. NONETHELESS THERE ARE MANY HERE FOR WHOM DEMOCRATIC, SOCIALIST SWEDEN IS MUCH MORE OF A MODEL FOR THE FUTURE OF YUGOSLAVIA'S OWN SYSTEM OF SELF-MANAGEMENT THAN THE SOVIET UNION. THEREFORE WE BELIEVE THAT YOU SHOULD RAISE THIS ISSUE BOTH IN PRIVATE AND IN PUBLIC. SPECIFICALLY, IN YOUR POST-LUNCH STATEMENT YOU MIGHT SAY THE FOLLOWING: "I HAVE JUST COME FROM PORTUGAL AND SPAIN, WHICH ARE VITAL NEW DEMOCRACIES. YUGOSLAVIA HAS ITS OWN APPROACH TO THE UNIVERSAL STRIVING
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SECRET

PAGE 02 BELGRA 03229 02 OF 03 191244Z

FOR MAN'S LIBERATION FROM POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC OPPRESSION. WE WILL WATCH WITH GREAT INTEREST THE EVOLUTION OF YUGOSLAVIA'S APPROACH IN THE YEARS AHEAD." IN THE SAME CONTEXT YOU MAY WISH TO RAISE WITH DORONJSKI OUR DESIRE FOR EXPANDED CONTACTS WITH ALL STRATA OF YUGOSLAV SOCIETY, ALONG FOLLOWING LINES.

WE ARE PLEASED WITH THE INCREASED TEMPO OF OFFICIAL VISITS. HOWEVER, WE ARE PUZZLED THAT CERTAIN YUGOSLAV ORGANIZATIONS -- THE COMMUNIST PARTY, SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION, SOCIALIST ALLIANCE OF WORKING PEOPLE (A NATIONAL FRONT ORGANIZATION) -- HAVE NOT RESPONDED TO REPEATED USG INVITATIONS TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES WHILE SUCH GROUPS ARE CONSTANTLY SENDING THEIR MEMBERS ELSEWHERE. EVEN THE SOVIET KOMSOMOL LEADER AND ROMANIAN PARTY OFFICIALS VISIT THE U.S. AND OUR USIA INFORMATION CENTERS HERE ARE RESTRICTED IN THEIR CONTACTS. WE WOULD HOPE FOR A MORE OPEN ATMOSPHERE.

7. MILITARY COOPERATION: ADMIRAL HOLLOWAY'S VISIT THIS PAST WEEKEND WAS A MAJOR SUCCESS IN HELPING BREAK TWO-YEAR LONG STAGNATION IN CRUCIAL AREA OF MILITARY COOPERATION. WE NEED TO EXPAND OUR CONTACTS WITH THE YUGOSLAV MILITARY, THE MOST IMPORTANT INSTITUTION IN YUGOSLAVIA AFTER THE PARTY AND ONE LIKELY TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN TITO SUCCESSION ERA. THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED THEIR INTEREST AND IT WOULD BE HELPFUL FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AT YOUR LEVEL TO INDICATE ITS OWN GENERAL INTEREST. SPECIFICALLY THE GOY WOULD APPRECIATE A STATEMENT FROM YOU PROMISING A REVIEW OF THE LOG JAMS WHICH EXIST, WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF MAKING SOME OF THE MILITARY ITEMS THEY WISH TO PURCHASE IN U.S. AVAILABLE TO THEM. AT SAME TIME IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE SAY ABSOLUTELY NOTHING IN PUBLIC ABOUT THE MILITARY DIMENSION IN OUR RELATIONS -- PAST EXPERIENCE DEMONSTRATES THAT YUGOSLAVS WILL INTERPRET ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT AS ATTEMPT TO CAUSE TROUBLE IN THEIR RELATIONS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BELGRA 03229 02 OF 03 191244Z

WITH SOVIETS ON WHOM THEY PRESENTLY DEPEND AND THEY WILL FREEZE ALL MILITARY CONTACTS WITH US.

8. AFRICA -- GOY MAINTAINS IT IS "MODERATE" IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS. THE RECORD DOES NOT SUPPORT SUCH A CLAIM. BUT THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT SUCH POTENTIAL FLASHPOINTS AS ZAIRE/ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA AND THE HORN. THEIR LINE IS THAT NON-ALIGNED DISPUTES SHOULD BE SETTLED BY THE NON-ALIGNED THEMSELVES. THEREFORE, THEY CRITICIZED FRANCE'S AID TO ZAIRE. BUT THEY DO NOT CRITICIZE SOVIET/CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA AND SOVIET INROADS INTO ETHIOPIA, DESPITE EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN THEY HAVE RECEIVED, MOST RECENTLY FROM SADAT. ANGOLAN PRESIDENT NETO WAS HERE AT THE END OF LAST MONTH AND LIBYAN NUMBER-TWO MAN JALLOUD VISITED SOON AFTER. THEY KNOW OF YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS AND WILL WANT TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS. BUT THEY SHOULD BE ASKED TO EXPLAIN THEIR LESS THAN BALANCED APPROACH.

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03229 03 OF 03 200051Z
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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 BELGRADE 3229

STADIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y PARAS NUMBERING (9-10 VICE 10-11)

FOR VICE PRESIDENT FROM CHARGE

9. ECONOMIC COOPERATION:

FOR POLICY REASONS, WE HAVE ENCOURAGED COOPERATION BETWEEN U.S. BUSINESS FIRMS AND THEIR YUGOSLAV COUNTERPARTS IN THIS DECENTRALIZED ECONOMY. FORCES IN YUGOSLAVIA HAVE BEEN ARGUING OVER A NEW LAW ON EQUITY INVESTMENT, WHICH WILL REPLACE THE PRESENT RELATIVELY LIBERAL ONE, UNDER WHICH A NUMBER OF U.S. FIRMS HAVE MADE EQUITY INVESTMENTS AS MINORITY PARTNERS. MANY ARE PROCEEDING REASONABLY WELL, BUT PROGRESS ON THE LARGEST SINGLE JOINT VENTURE, A DOLS. 700 PETROCHEMICAL COMPLEX PLANNED BY DOW CHEMICAL AND THE YUGOSLAV PARTNER INA (PRONOUNCED EE' NAH) STILL AWAITS FEDERAL ASSURANCES OF CONDITIONS DOW CONSIDERS ESSENTIAL TO PROFITABILITY. OTHER PROSPECTIVE U.S. INVESTMENTS INCLUDE GENERAL MOTORS PARTICIPATION IN A DOLS. 75 MILLION AUTOMOTIVE CASTING PLANT AND C.E. LUMMUS INTEREST IN A DOLS. 160 MILLION METHANOL/ACETIC ACID PROJECT--BOTH EXPORT-ORIENTED PROJECTS IN KIKINDA IN DORONJSKI'S PROVINCE OF VOJVODINA (PRON. KEE' KEEN DAH, VOY' VOH DEEN AH). IN YOUR PRIVATE MEETINGS AN INDICATION OF OUR STRONG SUPPORT FOR U.S. EQUITY INVESTMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA AND OUR HOPE THAT THE NEW INVESTMENT CLIMATE WILL ENCOURAGE SUCH

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BELGRA 03229 03 OF 03 200051Z

INVESTMENTS WOULD BE USEFUL. IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL IF YOU COULD MENTION THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DOW, GENERAL MOTORS AND LUMMUS VENTURES, AS EXAMPLES OF THE TYPES OF VENTURES BOTH GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGING, WOULD BOLSTER FOREIGN BUSINESS AND MEDIA CONFIDENCE IN YUGOSLAVIA. YOU MIGHT REFER TO THE NEED FOR ASSURANCES ON THE DOW PROJECT.

10. THE POST-TITO FUTURE: WHILE THE ATMOSPHERE HERE IS SATURATED WITH FESTIVITIES AND PRAISE ATTENDANT ON TITO'S 85TH BIRTHDAY AND 40TH YEAR AS HEAD OF PARTY, VISIT WILL PROVIDE YOU AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH NEW LEADERSHIP GENERATION OF YUGOSLAVIA AND SET STAGE FOR LONG-TERM PERHAPS "PERSONAL" RELATIONSHIP WITH TITO'S POTENTIAL SUCCESSORS (THE KIND OF RELATIONSHIP WHICH EUROPEAN STATESMEN LIKE BRANDT AND PALME HAVE BEEN ABLE TO FASHION IN PAST YEARS AND WHICH HELPS SUSTAIN YUGOSLAV WILL TO RESIST SOVIET PRESSURES). KARDELJ, IF HIS HEALTH DOES NOT DETERIORATE, AND DOLANC ARE BEST BETS TO SUCCEED TITO, ALTHOUGH PROBABLY WITHOUT THE DEGREE OF POWER TITO WIELDS. BUT THERE ARE OTHER POSSIBILITIES. GLIGOROV, LONG PRESENT IN GOY'S LEADERSHIP COUNCILS, SHOULD BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN OR EVEN ENHANCE HIS STANDING. WHILE DORONJSKI AND DJURANOVIC MAY APPEAR OF LESSER STATURE, THEY REPRESENT THE SORT OF REPUBLIC-BASED PARTY BOSSES WHO WILL HAVE CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE IN RUNNING THE COUNTRY IN FUTURE YEARS. YOU AND YOUR PARTY WILL HAVE UNUSUALLY CLOSE ACCESS TO TITO AND HIS POTENTIAL SUCCESSORS THROUGHOUT THE VISIT. I KNOW THERE WILL BE GREAT INTEREST HERE AND IN WASHINGTON IN YOUR AND YOUR STAFF'S PERSONAL ASSESSMENTS OF THESE INDIVIDUALS.
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